1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 692 *Picking windfall olives.* Similarly, the head of each family must pay a quarter of a dollar for each member of his family who starts picking up windfalls before the signal is given.

685 *Theft of olives.* The outright theft of olives is punished by a fine of ten dollars.

Trespassing in order to pick grass. If a man catches a woman picking or cutting grass for her cow on his land, he may report her, and her husband will be fined one dollar. But to make such a report is considered mean and few are willing to do so.

Stray goats and cattle in the cemetery. When goats or cattle, either with or without the intention of their guardian, enter a cemetery, their owner is fined a quarter of a dollar for each goat, and a dollar for each bull or cow which entered.

[689] *Repair of irrigation ditches.* If any farmer fails to send a man or men to work on a ditch, when he is required to do so, he is fined between two and three dollars per day per man.

Taking water illegally from irrigation ditches. This is considered a serious offense, and although it incurs but a five dollar fine, it always breeds bad feelings and often incites to murder.

[782] 623 692 688 *Regulating attendance at prayer.* To explain this function it is necessary to anticipate the discussion of religion. Each *bone* in the *canton* is required to send twenty-five men once a week to the common mosque of the *canton* to pray. The village council of each *bone* lists the names of all married men in the *bone*: a day is set for each *bone* to attend the mosque, and the *bone* keeps that day permanently. The first week the first twenty-five men on the list must go, the second week the second twenty-five, and so on until the list has been exhausted, when the procedure starts all over again. If the number of married men in the *bone* is not evenly divisible by twenty-five, those forming the remainder at the foot of the list are supplemented by enough at the head of it to fill the number, and the rotation starts anew. It is the task of the village council in whose territory the cantonal mosque is situated to see that twenty-five men appear from each *bone* on the allotted day. If a *bone* is so small that it does not contain twenty-five, it is combined with another *bone* for this purpose.

If the members of the village council of the mosque territory find that a quota is not full on a certain day, they fine the man who has defaulted five dollars. If this is not paid promptly the council of the great steps in and fines the guilty *bone* between two and three hundred dollars. If a man is away on a journey his name is temporarily stricken from the list and the following names are moved up one place; if he is ill or for some other reason unable to go, he is allowed to send a substitute. If a man falls ill on the way, becomes wounded, or is otherwise prevented from reaching the mosque when it is too late to obtain a substitute, his absence is excused.

The fines thus extracted, the proceeds of which go for the upkeep of the mosque, formerly consisted of walnuts, almonds, figs, or raisins. Later, when sugar was first imported, two sugar cones were assessed. Later still the money fine was introduced.

623 681 651 642 *Providing for exiles from other* fifths. When a man has been exiled by the tribal council for a year, two years, or more, he must pass to a different *fifth*, preferably to a *bone* in which he has friends. The village council of the *bone* collects an assessed portion of the crops of every farmer and gives it to him. This it does for the first year only. If he remains more than a year he must work as a share-laborer for a farmer and earn his living. If a farmer refuses to give his assessed portion it is taken by force, and twofold. Such refusals are, however, almost unknown.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Entertaining councillors of another tribe. If the councillors of a strange tribe stop at a village for the night, the local village council has charge of their entertainment. They first provide a house for the guests by expelling some childless man and his wife from their dwelling for the night. They then collect foodstuffs. Bread and all fruits, both fresh and dried, nuts, and vegetables, are assessed from rich men without payment. Meat, sugar, tea, candles, oil, pepper, butter, and poultry are purchased from members of the *bone* willing to sell them. The boys of the council buy the poultry from widows, and eggs as well, if no one brings them voluntarily. Anyone refusing to supply the bread assessed him may be fined ten *soldi* a loaf; but since no one has ever been known to refuse, the fine is purely theoretical. If in buying those articles not given, the members of the council spend more money than they have in the fine treasury, they pay the excess amount themselves, later collecting it in equal portions from all the men of the *bone* who have been married one year or over. They themselves act as cooks for the visiting councillors.

Entering council chamber unbidden. If any member of the *bone* enters the council chamber while the council is deliberating, the intruder is told to remain and is given tea. When at length he departs, a member of the council is immediately sent out to call him back. This time he is reprimanded for having entered unbidden, and is fined between two and three dollars.

Conversing with women. If a man or boy speaks to a married woman belonging to a *bone* other than his own, on the path or in any other public place, except the market, the village council of the village to which the woman belongs summons the offender and fines him five dollars. If the offender repeatedly seeks out the woman, or loiters about places she is known to frequent in order to converse with her, the village council of the offender's own *bone* fines him between fifty and sixty dollars. If the offense takes place in market it is considered more serious, and comes before the council of the great.[1] These rules do not apply to unmarried women, who may be spoken to, in a respectful manner, by anyone.

Quarrels between women. When one woman injures another with a stone, stick, or other implement, the village council collects a fine of from five to six dollars from the husband of the aggressor. The council generally hears of such cases through gossip, since the husband of the injured woman is usually too ashamed to report it.

Entering a cemetery occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a cemetery when the women of the *bone* are convening there on a Friday or holiday, he is fined five dollars.

Entering a saint's tomb occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a saint's tomb in which women are convening, the village council fines him from fifty to a hundred dollars.

Fighting with the hands. If two men fight with their hands, without using any weapon, the village council determines which man started the fight and fines him an amount commensurate with the injury done.

Speaking to an enemy. If a man is caught conversing with a member of a hostile *bone*, at a time when war is either in progress or imminent, the village council of his own *bone* fines him fifty dollars.

In the tribes and territories where there is no village council, the rendering of justice in small affairs which is the work of this body is not performed. For example, one man may cut down another's tree or take his grass without any fine or other official reckoning; he can likewise speak to a woman of another *bone*; but if he does these things he incurs the wrath

[1] See below, p. 102.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

63| Bū 'Ayyāsh (the *farīqath* of Aith 'Adhīya). Although the second *liff* was the smaller of the two, its fighting strength was heavily reinforced by Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith 'Adhīya, both of which groups have very bellicose reputations. Aith Ḥadīfa and Imrābdhen are weaker sections, on the other hand, while the presence of half of the «fifth» of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh in each *liff* shows how divided within itself this biggest and most warlike of all the divisions used to be. It is also appropriate to point out that only in connection with «fifth» of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī (later to produce 'Abd al-Karīm) and Aith 'Alī does the term *rbā'*, in Wuryāghlī parlance, differ in political significance from *thakhammāsth*; Ait Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and Aith 'Alī are considered as separate *rubū'* belonging to the same *thakhammāsth*, implying, somewhat paradoxically, that a «fifth» is larger than a «fourth». In all the other major sections the terms are used interchangeably, although at the present time *rbā'* takes precedence, as. under the Spanish administration, there are six and not five administrative divisions in the tribe, two in each of three «caidatos». Referred to by the administrations as «fractions», these consist of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Imrābdhen in the caidato of Uṭa, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Ḥadīfa in the caidato of the Upper Ghīs, and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and Jabal (Aith 'Arūs, Aith Turīrth of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Thimārzgha of Aith 'Alī) in the caidato of Nakūr.

Aith Wuryāghīl, being the biggest tribe in the Spanish Protectorate, has been given the status of a separate «comarcal» by the administration, and each of the three caidatos is governed by a *qā'id*, who is assisted in his duties by a *khalīfa*. Under and subject to him are the *shiyūkh* (sing. *shaikh)* of the rubū' or «fractions», each of whom is also assisted by a *khalīfa*. The qā'id presides over his tribunal *(maḥkāma)* every week in the principal market of the caidato In addition, special «fractional» juntas were created as of 1952 by the administration; these are made up of all the *muqaddamīn* (sing. *muqaddam)* of the «subfractions» *(farīqath)* and of all the representative (*ukīl*) of the villages, usually the village *jurā'ī* (sing. *jārī*). This junta, which meets every three months in the «fractional» market, is presided over by the *shaikh*. Its principal duty is to carry 69| 65| out the collection of the *tartīb*, the tax paid to the Makhzin in Tetuan by each farmer on each head of livestock and on each hectare

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

of land under cultivation which he possesses; it also assures the collection of the market tax, a small tariff paid by each man to the market *amīn* on the animals and produce which he brings into the market to sell. The money is destined for «fractional» use entirely: upkeep of the market, digging a new well, or for any purpose which pertains to or is of interest to the «fraction» in general. The *shaikh* of the «fraction» is responsible to the *qā'id* for the assessment and collection of this money, while the *qā'id* himself takes direct charge of matters which involve the caidato as a whole. In another building in the market place, the *qāḍī*, also assisted by a *khalīfa*, administers the Sharī'ā, which at the present time has largely supplanted the old Riffian *'urf* or customary law.

This form of government, based entirely on the Arab system, has completely superseded the old regime of the *Aiṭh Arba'īn*, of the *imghāren* (sing. *amghār*), the family and village headmen who, in each «fifth», used to make up its governing body in the days before 'Abd al-Karīm. The powers of the *imghāren*, who also used to meet in the market, were much more extensive than those of the modern «fractional» junta, and included assessment and collection of fines for theft of livestock, for talking to women in the market, for suspected but unproven adultery, and the collection of blood money (*dīyath*). These duties and the unwritten customary law which governed them have all been substantially assimilated by the legal jurisdiction of the Makhzin and by the Sharī'a.

Although in the old days there was no higher body politic than the *imghāren* of the «fifth», those of all five «fifths» used to meet together at a place called *aghrau* (p. *ighrāwen)*, the location of of which had previously been announced in the market by the *barrāḥ* or market crier, in case a crisis arose which assumed tribal proportions. In case of adultery caught *in flagrante delicto*, the injured husband had, and still has, the traditional privilege of killing his wife and her lover with exemption from payment of blood money. In case of murder committed on profane ground, the murderer had to pay a fine *(ḥaqq)* of 5.000 pesetas to the *imghāren*, and blood money amounting to 6.000 pesetas to his victim's family, provided the latter chose to accept it. If they did not, as was usually the case, a feud was in full swing inmediately, and the council members, lea-

000 40--Adultery in the Rif is almost always punished by the death of both the guilty parties, if caught in flagrante delictu. This, at any rate, is the procedure which is most favored culturally, and even if the Moroccan Government attaches a six-month or a year's jail sentence to it, many Rifians follow this path of action in such a case.

41--Ar-raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, is the term used by the Algerian Kabyles to designate blood-vengeance. The Rifians use another Arabic word, l-'adawa, Rifianized to r'adhawth, meaning "hatred, hostility".

[114] 42--Dhwara is synonymous with nubth, and here Blanco is again in
[233] error, for, in the Central Rif, taking goats to pasture is neither
[857] a communal activity, nor is it done in turn by each small boy or girl in the community, but by the children of each nuclear family on their or its own account.

[114] 43--Blanco's phrase is Es, pues, una sociedad turnante, and this
[196] notion, in my opinion, is one of its author's most significant contributions to the study of Rifian social organization. With respect to Blanco's definition of nubth, it should be stated that the lexical meaning of the word is "turn", but that in the Rif it refers to a nuclear family, or that of a widow with unmarried children. The
● [651] most significant function of the nubth in a wider sense, perhaps, is that the annual tirtib tax, calculated on the basis of ownership of animals and crop-yield, worked out on this basis in each village community in a tribe. It should here be noted that the tirtib tax was officially abolished in Morocco in the summer of 1961.

[144] 44--It is maintained by both Rifians and Berbers in the Central Atlas
[671] that a man may have an unlimited number of wives at the same time provided that every fifth one is a negress. Not only is this fact considered to be sanctioned by the Shari'a, but I actually knew one Rifian qa'id (now deceased) who had 4 ordinary Rifian wives and a fifth one who was black.

[171] 45--Both widow inheritance (wife marries deceased husband's brother) and the sororate (husband marries deceased wife's sister) are standard practice in the Rif, as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world (see Coon, 1931, op. cit., and E. D. Chapple & C. S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology, New York: Holt, 1942). An outstanding example of widow inheritance is furnished by a woman I know (an informant's mother, to be exact) in the highlands of Aith Waryaghar, who married two brothers in succession (the first was killed in a bloodfeud and the second during the Rifian War of 1921-26) before finally marrying a third brother (the informant's father) and having five children by him!

[881] 46--Puberty rites, in the proper sense of the term, do not exist for
[171] either sex in the Muslim Middle East. That a boy or girl is old enough to fast during Ramadan is a tacit sign that puberty has commenced. In the Rif, at this time, boys help their fathers in the fields and girls help their mothers in the house; it is only children of pre-puberty age, of either sex, who pasture goats.

423 never be made use of through such modest donations, so exact was the
794 objective for which they were turned over. And today they are obliged to be substituted by new constructions, as already we are finding instances in which the tribesmen are obliged to use part of their communal property in order to cover their minimal religious needs.

The traditional tribesman, a localistic and primitive soul, could never dream that his generous gesture and the fruit of his labor would be converted into utilization for and the beautifying of the vampire city, of that city which he knows only through its derisive attitude toward him and its desire to cheat him.[12]

651 b) Self-Taxation: This category was fulfilled in the jma'th
621 through other classes of property, such as religious (properties), through voluntary contributions and through alms.

The 'ashur (Rif. dha'ashurth) or tithe from the harvests, which was received in kind by another amin (read mqaddim), also a lay (author's italics) tribesman expressly nominated by the jma'th to whom he was responsible, justifying payments and income, and guarding and administering voluntary donations.

651 The respect for and knowledge of these good customs and
648 primary institutions in the Rif has permitted us to utilize such sentiments of solidarity on diverse occasions, without excessive shifts from times of abundance to others of restriction, hence giving them the sensation of our constant solicitude and thus coming to establish in some jma'ath and 'bureaux' (oficinas) the idea of voluntary deposits (donations), and hence again (re)awakening Custom.

[648] 12--This paragraph, as well as the preceding one with its reference to the "urban mulay", clearly indicate that Blanco fully shared the prevailing view of the protectoral authorities of both zones of Morocco regarding the administrative wisdom inherent in the separation of Town and Tribe.

000 (donations), and hence again (re)awakening Custom.

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621 The 'ashur, a Koranic tax which was always collected by the Makhzin--even including "rebellious Makhzins" like that of 'Abd al-Krim--continued to be collected by the jma'th in its long periods of "anarchy", which to the jma'th concerned meant, of course, autonomy. From this stems the fact that although the tirtib today is the real Makhzin-imposed tax, the 'ashur, for the Rifian tribes, continues to retain its traditional character both of religious obligation and of application to the jma'th (author's italics), a tax which is accepted with such good grace as to leave the evaluation of how much is to be paid to the conscience of the reductions longed for by any Rifian; and this in just the same way as the tirtib is rejected and regarded as disagreeable. Hence the reform of the tirtib, or better yet, the reform of any system of tribute, might also be advisable with a view to freeing the product from any internal encumbrances.

Hence the voluntary alms (self-taxation) which Rifians call dha'ashurth (tithe), collected in kind (figs, raisins, walnuts, olive oil, barley, etc.) and turned over to the hands of the appropriately elected member of the local community, constituted the beneficial bases with which the jma'th fed its own poor and those in transit, without falling into the prodigalities, with relation to their means, of organizations set up in which there are real contests to be poor, with the result that their mean standard of living was higher than the sober mean of the jma'th, which organizations of this type should not surpass nor equal[13].

13--The allusion here has escaped us: it may possibly refer to some particular institution current in Spain in the 1930s. In any event, this is another of Blanco's tortuously meandering sentences.

871 621 793 c) Instruction: The maintenance of expenses relating to education fell and fall, independently of the above, on the members of the jma'th who, in turn, must provide the fqih with his meals, while his contract, as we have seen, depends, on the other hand, on religious property[14].

621 574 651 The gratuitous character of the representative jobs, such as the iziddjifen, and the eternal need to be prepared adequately for distinguished visitors (tribal authorities, personages of political, economic or religious significance, harka-s passing through, etc.) made it mandatory that the expenses incurred through the feeding of visitors (difa or diyafa, or, more commonly in the Rif, muna) be shared equally by the members of the jma'th or that they be levied by the 621 iziddjifen at so much per head. To this end they also used to prepare 241 651 reserves set aside from the harvest reaped in common from the jma'th lands as of that taken in from the leasing of these same lands, funds from which were also applied or set aside for the repair of irrigation ditches or for any other communal need which the jma'th agreed had to [794] be satisfied. Even today this custom continues, and the ziyara donations to members of holy lineages, once the harvest is in, are effected in this fashion, with the crop taken in from a plot of land held for this purpose. Such a plot, in some jma'ath, is usually entrusted to a 792 794 fqir (member of a religious order) of the jma'th (in question), who must convoke its members to plow and harvest it. For these individuals,

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14--In our own experience, both the meals of the fqih and his annual remuneration in barley depend entirely upon the resources of the members of the jma'th concerned. No doubt, however, if his annual stipend in barley can be integrally extracted from religious land (such as habus), so much the better, and nobody is the loser.

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Fines to be imposed:

Harka members: for each day of absence, two (days to be served) in the harka, and a fine of 2 duros.

Qa'ids of 25 men: the same, with a fine of 3 duros.

Qa'ids of 50 men: the same, with a fine of 4 duros.

Qa'ids of 100 men: the same, with a fine of 5 duros.

Qa'ids of 200 men: the same, with a fine of 6 duros.

This is an order emanating from the fortunate Makhzin (i.e. of 000 'Abd al-Krim). May God protect it. In Taghzut on Ramadan 23, 1344 (March 8, 1926). By order of 'Abd al-Karim bin Ziyan.[110]

12. DOCUMENT OF EXEMPTION FROM PAYMENT OF TAXES[111]:

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Praise be to the one God. The blessings of God be upon our (lord) Muhammad, his family and friends.

It shall be known through the present document that we, taking into consideration the services rendered to the Makhzin and the taxes which because of hospitable attentions with warlike objectives (holy war) weigh upon the bearers, the sons of the late Si Ahmad bin Si 'Ali al-Tawti are exempted by us from the contributions concerned....The 'amil, in virtue of this, orders that they not be asked of them....And the peace.

Safar 18 of the year 1341 (October 10, 1922). Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi, may God be with him, amen. (Signed and sealed).

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13. QANUN OF THE SEA--AITH WARYAGHAR[112]:

A) The Boat Owner:

He owns the boat (agharrabu, pl. igharruba)[113], acquired by transfer, sale, already used or repaired by carpenters on the beach, of whom there are still a few[114].

175 648 651 The social facts are, however, somewhat clearer. The Berber tribes of the Central Rif were a part of the bled-as-siba, or that area in which the central Moroccan government (bled-al-makhzen) failed to exercise effective control. The boundary between the one and the other was determined by whether within the area in question the makhzen could or could not collect taxes. If a tribe had voluntarily or involuntarily submitted to the payment of tribute, there would be a royal intermediary, a qaid, to collect revenue. In the Rif such dominancy was not present until the Spanish, or in the case of the Igzinnayen, the French, were able to assert supremacy.

619 (648) A complimentary feature of the bled-as-siba, at least as it obtained in the Central Rif, was that not only were the tribes independent of the makhzen but within any particular tribe itself, the internal segments of which it consisted were independent in most instances from one another. There was no tradition of centralization in this region. Each tribe (taqbitch) was divided into segments of varying degrees of inclusiveness. The maximal lineages or ar-rba agreed that they belonged to a common social group which was socially, geographically, and to some extent linguistically distinct from other taqbitch. This social entity was evoked more in terms of space than of time. If one lived within the spacial limits of the tribe one was a member of that group. However, rights and duties within the taqbitch were nebulous and a Riffian would only use his tribal identity to someone who was unacquainted with local political sub-divisions. As a

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443 182 571 [452] [554] He can get credit in the local shops on the basis of his reputation. Here he can consult relatives and friends, settle petty disputes, arrange marriages and sell property. His ties to the marketplace do not depend on "improved communication" but on a whole series of both economic and noneconomic involvements with the local market.

443 182 What is the nature then of this local market? I shall try to arrive at a picture of the common elements of all <u>suqs</u> of the Rif, although there will be slightly different elements or emphasis in each specific <u>suq</u>. As Bourrilly comments, "L'importance de ces souks varie naturallement avec l'importance des régions qu'ils desservent, de la clientèle qu'ils attirent, des zones de production dont ils sont le débouché" (1932:211). Still, after spending many weary days in such places one cannot help but sympathize with Albéniz: "Visto y descrito uno cualquiera de ellos, están vistos y descritos los demás" (1930:118).

443 [651] [366] [312] Most of the markets are walled-in enclosures with only one or two openings, assuring the collection of market taxes. They are ideally located near a source of water so that animals can drink. Special places outside the walls are allocated for the quartering of mules and donkeys. Inside the market are rows of permanent structures, either small shops or cafes. On a non-market day the site will be deserted except for a few soldiers assigned to each market and a few tribesmen, sitting inside the canteens drinking tea.

443 On the market day itself, this changes. Merchants arrive on bus, mule, truck, or foot to set up their booths. By eight o'clock there is a small but steady flow of fellah entering the
443 market. At the main entrances of the suq taxes are collected.
651 For those who have certain articles to sell, a tax must be paid,
438 based on the quantity of the commodity. There are certain cases, to be discussed below, when commodities may enter the market free to be taxed later, at the moment of sale or after the goods have been accumulated but before they leave the market.

443 The tax of the market is, at present, the main source of
651 revenue that the government realizes from the Rif. Both the
648 Spanish and Moroccan governments found that the collection of taxes on the basis of market exchange was the most feasible way of extracting revenue from the Rif.[1] By walling off the market and stationing guards at the entrances the government is able to impose a stability on the collection process. "Conviene senalar que la recaudación de los impuestos del Majken en los Zocos se viene realizando por las intervenciones militares sin el menor obstáculo y con mucha más facilidad que puede efectuarse en las ciudades la recaudación de los arbitrios urbanos" (Albéniz 1930:118-119).

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[1] The Spanish charged a tax (tertib) on the yield of the land and upon livestock. The tertib was discontinued after independence and a new tax "was so designed as to exempt the poorest 90 percent of farmers" (Morocco 1965:394). This excludes most of the fellah. For a discussion of the Spanish tax structure in Morocco see Hart 1956:253.

443 Below is the official tax rate of the Spanish as given
651 in Albéniz (1930:121-122). I have no schedule of my own because
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438 of a disinclination on the part of officials to give me such
[123] information.

Articles upon which a tax is paid entering the market:	
A load of fruit	0.75 Spanish pesetas
Basket of vegetables	0.75
Basket of fish	1.50
Kilo of honey or butter	0.40

Articles upon which a tax is paid upon leaving the market by the large-scale buyers:	
Wool	5% of total value
Straw mats	0.25 each
Dried cereal	0.50 quintal
Goat or lamb hide	0.20 each
Cattle hide	0.50 each

Articles upon which a tax is paid at the moment of exchange:	
Horses	5% of the value of the sale
Mules	5% of the value of the sale
Donkeys	5% of the value of the sale
Firewood, a quintal	5% of the value of the sale

Articles upon which a tax is charged when entering the market and again upon being sold:	
Basket of wool	.10 and .20
Chickens and wild fowl	.10 and .10
Eggs (dozen)	.10 and .10
Carbon (a sack)	.10 and .10

443 While Albéniz's list follows the general lines of present taxing
651 policy, there have been some changes aimed at helping the poor.
648 For example, small lots of fruit, vegetables, nuts and eggs can
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735 enter the market without paying a duty. Revenue is collected for

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651 such items if they are purchased by the large middlemen merchants
438 who pay the tax upon leaving the suq. Because of governmental
648 tax and conservation laws, carbon is rarely sold in the free
[735] market but rather in the black market. The narcotic kif, which
[276] undoubtedly is a major trade item, also is in the province of the black marketeer. Missing from Albéniz's list are almonds, which have become an increasingly important cash crop. Almonds enter the market free in small lots, are bought by large-scale merchants and taxed upon departing from the market.

443 After paying his tax, the seller enters the market and goes to the area occupied by traders of his particular commodity. There are no market rules demanding that a seller go to a special place but areas have by custom been developed for each type of goods. Those people selling an unusual commodity or unique service set up shop wherever they desire as long as it does not interfere with the operation of the market.

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438 In the following I shall outline the sorts of commodities brought to the market and the categories of people involved in marketing them. The composition of the agricultural products varies greatly with the season. Tomatoes, green peppers, and other vegetables are available only in the summer and early fall. For a short period during the fall, fruit is in overabundance. Potatoes, maize, garlic, and onions appear throughout the year, though again the supply varies. There are always large stacks of unmilled barley even though this is supposed to be the main crop of the region. That the fellah have to buy barley on

443 gather up verbal information about the prevailing prices and the
442 supply of a commodity in the suq. Their operation is somewhat
434 more complex than the sellers who can quickly assess the supply
435 of the market since they need only evaluate the quantities of their competitors. The large-scale buyers do not have such early information and must rely on their "runners" to supply them with market conditions on the inpouring of a commodity into the market. The centers of these operations are quite exciting as information pours into them and the merchant sends out his buying price.
443 While the lot size of his purchases is uniformly small (buying
442 from the numerous fellah who have only small lots to sell), the large-scale merchant departs from the market with a sizable supply
442 of his good. At the end of market day he is assessed a tax based
[651] on the quantity he has purchased and transports the merchandise to urban centers where even larger firms purchase the good either to transform it into another sort of goods, through an industrial or factory process, or to break it down into small lots again to sell at a higher price. The principle behind his operation is simple. By his act of transporting commodities away from the area in which they were produced to another area in which they are scarce, he multiplies the value of the goods.

443 Amongst themselves such buyers have a rather accurate idea
435 of the prevailing prices among their competitors at the market-
442 place. Whatever price differential that exists at the market develops from the efficiency of information gathering. By this word-of-mouth information the buyer is able to estimate market

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca.[71] The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues.[72]

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique.[73] It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain.[74] It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time.[75] The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila.[76] The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

[71] D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

[72] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

[73] The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

[74] G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

[75] Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

[76] André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.